either "na-ǃmata," "I am a Nama," or he assumes this knowledge and 101
understands the question as a doubt of the purity of his humanity and then 619
he answers: "kχoē-kχoēta," "I am a true person." The doubling has the same meaning here as in the answer of a Hottentot in reply to a skeptical question: "tarebe hāba?", "What kind of a horse is that?" the answer: "hā-hāba g(u)mo," "oh, but a horse-horse," i.e. a true horse. With the doubling of the designation "person" the Hottentot is saying that he is a person without anything foreign in him, that he is no half-way creature [186]
such as a Bushman Bastard or a despised Bergdamara, who they consider related to the baboon (cf. folk tale XV). In the same sense the Hottentot would understand the answer "kχoē-kχoēta" from the mouth of a white. Thus if the designation kχoī-kχoin was a collective name for all the Hottentot tribes (it does not seem to be so any more among the people) then it did not have the meaning of "elite people" but was only the designation to show that the Hottentot, while living surrounded by other people, was conscious of his "genuineness," i.e. of the racial purity of the origin of his humanity. That does not exclude the idea that he also acknowledged the same in other peoples. Individually, however, his estimate of foreign races was determined by his experience.

1. Personal Relations With the Other Natives of South Africa

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a) The Bushman occupies the lowest place. The Bushmen, of all the South African human tribes, probably have the oldest ties with the Hottentot. But when and how they became his slaves we do not know. [567]
They are despised and treated with the greatest severity. Stealing cattle, for which they cannot compensate as they have no property, is punished by death. The nomadic hunting life of the miserable remnant of the Bushmen in Namaland does not permit any intermarriage with the families of their masters and makes their position of dependence seem slacker than is usually associated with the status of slave. [Plate XIV. Bushman from the Sandfeld, of the tribe of the Gobanin.] [323] It is based less on force that on the willing subordination of the weaker people, in the expectation of small handouts of the necessities of life although also with the knowledge in the back of their minds that they are completely without rights.

More closely tied to the Hottentot families are the Bergdamara or "mountain Kaffir". We will not discuss the mysterious origin and the ethnological characteristics of these very dark, thickset, middle-sized people any more than we discussed the Bushmen. We are only interested in the Hottentots' opinion of them.

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The first contact of the Hottentots with the Bergdamaras goes beyond any time from which we have historical dates. Pieter Brand, the companion of the explorer Willem van Reenen (14), who led an expedition in

14. G. M'Call Theal, History of South Africa, Vol. I - VI, London, 1888-1902.

September 1791 into Great Namaland, found the language of the Hottentots in use among the Bergdamaras. Their own mother tongue seems to have been forgotten at that time as it is today. Although the Bergdamaras have obtained their freedom under the German protectorate and have been freed from the yoke of the Hereros as well as from that of the Hottentots, they have often remained in voluntary dependency as household servants as the Bushmen have.

Although generally known as good-natured and docile and therefore treasured by the whites, the derogatory name given the Bergdamaras by his oppressors has remained. The Hottentot calls the Bergdamaras ǂau·daman, i.e. shit Kaffirs." I also heard them called ǂhau/kxoĩn, i.e. (according to the claim of the Hottentots themselves) "Manure people."* A friendly

*Derived from ǂhau/b = manure. Krönlein (57) [114]

57. J. G. Kroenlein, wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

does not know this word and derives the above designation, which, according to him, the Bergdamaras have given to themselves, from the word for "to be right." But to my ear it is not ǂhau/ but sounds like ǂhau·, the two vowels pronounced separately and with a rising (one third) accent. I can only place my opinion beside Kroenlein's as the actual result of my findings without deciding which is better. Schinz (50) mistakenly writes !haukhoin and his

50. H. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Forschungreisen (1884-1887) durch die deutschen Schutzgebiete etc. Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1891.

typesetter muddled the click even more in the index.

half joking address, also used for the baboon, which the Hottentot sometimes uses with a Bergdamara, is *⁄no·ro ⁄kxo·nibetse, with a reference (unclear to me) to an edible plant. Or he calls him the same as a baboon, *⁄hu·nitsi ⁄hai·tse, mockingly, saying he is as pale (⁄hai) as the ⁄hunis tree (a Boscia species).

[324] Of the tribes that are grouped together as Bantus on the basis of their common language structure, we can pass by the Ovambo, ⁄nabe·n, and the Bechuans, b(e)rin, i.e. goats, as only coming into occasional contact with the Hottentots. The Hottentots have only tested their strength in centuries of ancient enmity with one Bantu tribe, the Ovahereros, who penetrated into the lands south of the Kunene about 100 years ago. (70)

70. Fr. Ratzel, Völkerkunde, 2. Aufl., 1894.

The power of the immigrating Hereros was broken by the Hottentot tribe of the Red Nation and the followers of Jonker Afrikaaners about the middle of the previous century. But from the beginning of the sixties the tide turned and after bloody battles the Hottentots were completely defeated. But a subordinate role of conquered and victors similar to that between the Bergdamaras and the Hottentots did not develop. [Picture. Herero, 17 years old, with his mouth open to show his teeth. The four lower ones have been broken and the upper center incisors filed.]

The great wealth of cattle, about which all the battles revolved, gave the Hereros the name go⁄ma·damab, i.e. "cattle Kaffir." Another mocking designation for the Hereros is *≠na·⁄ntomagye //habo·kxoi s̃o·an, i.e. "the human - (kxoi s, fem.) children (o·an) with skin shoes (//habo·), who do not (toma) look around (≠na⁄n)": The crafty Hottentot, who never leaves a place without looking back to orient himself as to what is happening behind him, thus expresses the heedlessness of his opponent with this nickname.

2. The Relationship of the Hottentots to the White Race

a) The first contact of the Hottentot with the white man, ⁄hũ⁄b, occurred at the end of the fifteenth century, in the golden age of the Portuguese. Curiosity and a thirst for knowledge on the explorers' part but also fear on the Hottentots' part were naturally the dominant feelings at the first meeting. So Vasco da Gama's people (12) had to surround the natives whom

12. G. M'Call Theal, History of South Africa, Vol. I-VI, London, 1888-1902.

they discovered in November, 1497, at the foot of a hill in the St. Helena Bay and catch them like wild animals to have any contact with them. The good treatment of the one captured and the rich presents received when released lured others of his tribe to the ship. They also got something and so both sides were pleased.

Distrust, based on the impossibility of understanding each other properly, soon split the recently formed bonds. The soldier, Fernão Veloso, was on his way accompanying the natives to their village, when he suddenly got suspicious of their intentions and hurriedly turned back to the ship. The Hottentots followed him -- as it seems without hostile intentions, because it would have been easy for them to kill him. The men on the ship were mobilized and landed with their weapons and the parties separated with bloody heads, without really knowing what was the reason for the whole affair. Distrust also seems to have been the reason for a skirmish that Saldanha had in 1503 with the Hottentots near Table Mountain by Capetown.

The rash decision to revenge a scuffle between Hottentots and soldiers of the ship with a punitive expedition, in which the soldiers were apparently at fault, sent over sixty Portuguese to their destruction on the first of March, 1510. It seems incomprehensible to us today how the Viceroy of India, Francisco d'Almeida, who was traveling through, could not only tolerate but also personally lead an expedition of revenge and cattlerobbing during which even children were abducted from the peaceful kraal, all for the sake of avenging a trifling matter which had cost no lives, but merely wounded his pride. He and a dozen of his dignitaries were killed by blows from sticks, stones and assagais while doing this.

The successors to the Portuguese at the Cape, the English (see p. 24) had good experiences with the Hottentots. The trade went well (a sheep was traded for a knife, an ox for two knives) [326] and there was no friction. But in the long run the relationships of the whites to the natives have suffered under the Portuguese as well as the English from their sending criminals to the Cape, men who have forfeited their lives or freedom at home but who still seem to be usable to track down Hottentots. Although we know little about the fate of these deported people and almost nothing about their activities, still it only seems likely that they have not inspired the natives with confidence or respect for our race.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Dutch entered a badly predisposed country. They did nothing to improve it (69) until Johann van

69. H. C. V. Leibbrandt, Precis of the archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Riebeeck's Journal, part. I-III, Cape Town, 1897.

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Riebeeck realized that the opening of the natural resources of the country was only possible with the assistance of the natives and systematized the relations of the yellow and white races.

For understanding the time of the first close contact between the Dutch and the Hottentots the diary of van Riebeeck is a most valuable document because it describes not only the facts but also in the short daily phases of development which are precisely noted, he documents the motives and aims of the people involved. Here not only the historian but also a person who watches the meeting of two extremely different human races with psychological interest comes to account. We must be content here with merely a few hints. In the first stage a mutually friendly and obliging 439 manner reigned and peaceful trade was concluded on both sides. Copper and tobacco and also spirits were the best articles for barter. Three 648 pounds of hammered copper and one third of a pound of tobacco was the price of a cow, a pound of flat copper and some tobacco for a sheep, one quarter of a pound of copper wire and some tobacco for a lamb. Game, sometimes elephant teeth and young ostriches were traded cheaply.

In the second stage a decline in the desire for copper brought on a price increase on the part of the Hottentots. After they had enough copper, the Hottentots no longer wanted to sell their cattle, from which they lived. But freshly slaughtered meat was a necessity for satisfactory provisions for the travelers to India and since provisions were the only purpose of the white settlement in South Africa, ownership of cattle was just as much a question of life for the Dutch on the Cape as it was for [327] the Hottentots. And so the first discord appeared and with it the old distrust -- not without reason -- on both sides. The Hottentot could not resist the temptation to take possession of his sold cattle again and stole. What he sells from now on is of inferior quality. He gives the white men hope that the next ones will be better and in the end deceives them.

On the other hand the Dutchman, incensed by this behavior of the Hottentots, have their own crooked designs. He waits for the proper 648 moment to further his own interests brutally and conceals his plans till then. Just as previously in England using criminals as an avantgarde against the Hottentots was justified with the reason that it was "a very merciful deed for these criminals and a way to lead them to God since they were given time for penance and for praying for forgiveness of their sins etc.," in the same way the Dutch-Indian Trading Company received the following recommendation from the officers (July 26, 1649) concerning the erection of a fort on the Cape: not only was it good business but by converting heathen "many souls would be brought to God -- certainly the very best deed for the glorification of the Highest One and for the

spreading of His holy Gospel. In this way your undertaking in India will be blessed again and again." Van Riebeeck also believes that he will attain his goal without offering God shares of stock. He hopes to exploit the Hottentots' blind confidence at the right moment to rob cattle on a large scale and to capture a lot of slaves for India (Entry in the diary for the 13th of December, 1652). For this purpose he suppresses his annoyance, is friendly and considerate, all of which the Hottentots take for weakness. At the same time bitterness increases on their part as the native sees himself pushed out of valuable stretches of pasture by the foreigners. 648

In the third stage open enmity appears, complicated by the traitorous behavior of individual influential Hottentots who are playing a double game with the Dutch. Theft of cattle and murder here and there seems to eliminate all chance of an agreement but after a while peaceful relations are renewed and barter flourishes again. This unpredictable switch from friendship to enmity characterizes the relationship of the whites [328] to the Hottentots from the beginning and characterizes it up to our day as the relations of the two races moved beyond occasional friction to the stage of a conscious and ever deepening collision of interests.

We do not wish to give a history of the Hottentot wars. He who would write about them, would have to study in detail how the Cape Colony of the British Empire grew from the little stronghold and vegetable garden of the Dutch Indian Company. We are only concerned about becoming acquainted with the people who were in command on the white side in the battles of the following centuries. We must use van Riebeeck's colony as a base. It received reinforcements first of all from Holland and from France after the revoking of the Edict of Nantes. These are the ancestors of the present-day Boers.

b) The Boer has become the cultural pioneer of South Africa. A tough body, a fertility undiminished by the new climate, endurance and a minimum amount of physical and spiritual needs enabled him to found permanent settlements with the few cultural means which he brought from his homeland and to push deeper and deeper into the interior of the country. History depicts him as a brutal egoist. In order to understand the Hottentot's opinion of him, it is necessary to seek out the Boers who live in the remote northern parts of the Cape Colony today. You will still find here strong remnants of the autocratic feelings that became second nature to the Boers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on his lonely frontier post of civilization. He only feels at home there if no white man comes within four miles of his hut, where he himself prescribes the rights and customs for his family and especially for the natives who are in his power. Today he

grudgingly gives in to the law before which the native is a being with human rights. The idea that one has responsibilities to one's neighbors, when combined with the idea of the common weal, involving some denial on the part of the individual, is but a vague concept for this family hermit in northern Little Namaland, either politically, socially or religiously. Even a formal marriage contract often seems unnecessary to him. That his children are legally illegitimate does not bother him. That they grow up unbaptized does no damage to the standing of Christian families among his own kind. At the end of the nineties an English minister discovered such paradisical conditions [329] in the area between the mouth of Orange River and Port Nolloth. Then bearded men were baptized and grandparents married to make the grandchildren legitimate. The only social instinct that the Boers still possess is their hospitality.

This lack of political unity degrades the Boers of Namaland in the eyes of the Hottentots. The hereditary captaincy is the proud expression of a tribal right to the possession of land as well as of an orderly (according to his concepts) national life. From this standpoint the Hottentot, aside from his hate of the intruder, despised and still despises the Boer settler as a newcomer and masterless person, and points to the Germans in contrast who, as he does, have a captain and are one nation as he is.

Much stronger than such national feelings are the purely human feelings which have alienated the Boers from the Hottentots for ever. The Boer has always openly treated the natives with such a scorn for the colored race making an understanding impossible by its very nature. This scorn is characteristic of the Caucasian at a low level of racial and national consciousness. Even today the Boer calls the Hottentot a "schepsel," i.e. a creature in the sense of a being that happens to exist next to him as so many other mysterious and unnecessary things do in the world. Or he calls the Hottentot "geel goed," "yellow goods" which one can harness or trade, as one does cattle. The custom of seizing Hottentot children and rearing them "groot maak" is less rewarding than formerly when the master still had complete power over the life and death of his slaves and punished disobedience or running away by shooting them. That the culture penetrating the country has taken away these ancient rights is the chief reason why the Boers whom I met in Little Namaland despise the English rule (which otherwise leaves them as free as can be imagined).

These Boers were strangely disappointed when they discovered that the Hottentots also have rights in the German territory to which they wished to migrate. When I became better acquainted with the Boers, I tried to get an explanation from them, as to what they imagined that their God, before Whom they knelt three times a day, might think of their concept

of neighborly love in regard to colored people. I was referred to the Bible. I would not have taken their arguments from the Old Testament [330] seriously, if they had not been presented so seriously and if they actually had not been used in other places as a guide for their activities. In the ninth chapter of Genesis Noah damns Ham's son Canaan and his descendants to slavery. The Boers have extended this curse to all Hamites and include the Hottentot in this category, looking upon him as a born slave. Who is now the lord whom God has placed over them? What the people of Israel were in the old covenant, Christ is in the new. In the seventh chapter of the fifth book of Deuteronomy the extermination of the Canaanites is ordered. So God has placed the Christian Boer as the heir of Israel as lord over life and death of the cursed descendants of Canaan down to the last generation (the natives of South Africa). The Boer clings to this interpretation the more narrow-minded he is and the greater his racial pride is. This kind of gospel is a cover for the more liberal-minded that reveals most clearly what it is supposed to hide: the unbounded egoism of the Boers, that left the Hottentot no alternative than relentlessly to pursue a slow war to the death. Whoever had the upper hand in such a situation acted and still acts where the power of law is inadequate according to this concept.

c) The Hottentot entered a diametrically opposite relationship with another class of white men, the representatives of the Christian missions, which are maintained today in Great Namaland by the representatives of the Rhenish missionary society of Barmen. Whoever reads the older reports of this society can measure the difference between the present day Nama-Mission and the one of fifty years ago. At that time service among the Hottentots in this country without any government, where there were many battles among the natives, was a sacrifice of the first rank. Without any government protection the missionary threw himself on the mercy of the people, following the restless tribes on their migrations and sharing hunger and thirst with them. In order to keep in closest touch with the people, the missionary did not even shy away from marriage with a native girl. Gradually the opening up of the land led to the establishment of permanent mission stations. The protection of the government gave new guarantees to life and property and today the mission houses are the best and prettiest buildings in the country thanks to the excellent trade schools of the missionaries. They are places not only of work but also of comfort and, as I would like to emphasize with honest gratitude, show the traveler friendly hospitality. [331] The swing towards

himself and his family. In this sense few Hottentots have become 797
Christians. The systematic education of the natives for work has been demanded often enough for economic reasons. But this seems to me to be an unavoidable religious requirement of the Christian mission. Work represents in Namaland, as in every colony, the only possibility that the native has to hold his head economically above the tide of the inrushing cultural stream. And experience has shown further that a primitive people that is economically demoralized is also morally demoralized because it is for sale for any service to the superior race for its own livelihood. Thus the requirement that the native be taught to work does not seem to the missionary a secularization of his duties but only points a way to a firm basis for his religious duties. Moreover the white population is more grateful for a Christian trained for work than for ninety-nine candidates for heaven that know the Bible well but don't want to work.

Whether it would prove successful to appoint a special official for native affairs according to the English model, whether such an official could work together with the mission in the execution of his duties towards a systematic training of the natives for work and towards an organized employment bureau and labor welfare, must be determined by a trial, if possible before the English employers have drawn our best workers away from us across the border. Then we will also see whether the Protestant or the Catholic mission is more vital in this area. In the future this decision may have consequences far beyond the bounds of the missions.

d) The relationship of the Hottentot to his German master. The 648
Hottentot learns our language quickly, at least to understand it. He observes foreigners carefully and has the sense to hide his opinion. In all three points he differs to his advantage from the majority of our people. It cannot be held against the settler and the merchant that they show no interest in the difficult language. That an official can triple his influence over the natives when he masters their language is an old saw, but one would have run into enormous [334] difficulties applying the moral to the Hottentot language if one had ever thought of applying it at all.

There is usually only contempt felt for the Hottentots' language because of its clicking sounds. That can be harmless enough, but a large part of our countrymen are content with finding only the humorous aspects of the Hottentot and that is more serious. If the hundred little upsets are then added, which no one can avoid who has to depend on natives in his work, then all these feelings combine with the outward impression of a ragged, dirty fellow to a general opinion, which is unconcealed scorn.

This scorn may be humorous or bitter depending on the experiences and situation of the individual, but usually there is combined with it our feeling of enormous superiority that seems to make any closer study of the Hottentot unnecessary. We think we can manage him without this knowledge. 648

In addition enormous contrasts appear in our dealings with him. A captain, whom on occasion an official invites into his house as a "leader," is offered hospitality by a trader with the words "Will you have a schnapps, old pig?" On the one hand a white man is punished because he ejected a wise-aleck Hottentot bodily, but on the other hand an official in an understandable rage dealt out stripes himself. Punishment in itself is not the bad thing; it is the contradictions in the treatment that are. One may deplore the ruthless methods of the Boers in particular; the consistency, however, with which even the gentler Boer, in complete agreement with his own people, sticks to his severe principles towards the Hottentots, is the heart of that which must be admired, namely, the ability of the Boers to deal with the natives.

Such a uniformity in the treatment of the natives cannot be achieved by ordinances. It must be the spontaneous expression of a consistent appraisal of the native's character and of the situation. Those who know the Hottentot agree that two things are essential to get along well with him. In innumerable cases I have had the experience that a Hottentot expects punishment if he is convinced he deserves it. In his eyes it is a sign of weakness or stupidity if the punishment is remitted or given a sugar-coating. He may [335] thank you touchingly for your indulgent pardon and if he is a Christian wish you the reward of the "Lord Jesus" -- but he who can see behind the facade knows that the Hottentot is amused at this kind of treatment (cf. folk tale XLI); he wants to be treated firmly. The demands of justice should be emphasized in the interest of authority, even when it is not a matter of serious punishments. The harsh and blind scolding of a number of Hottentots by a high official, who could not even speak Dutch with them, was interrupted by a Hottentot (who thought that only his own people could understand him) with a warning to his companions: "!kxau/ hã ǂuigye tã kxom," "he is crazy, therefore do not speak." Such situations can occur more often than is good for the strengthening of our prestige, even in the short time that the individual official is allowed to stay in the southwest (cf. the chronicle of the district bureau of Keetmanshoop).

Also the person who is not an official should be aware that his private dealings with the natives in the half-civilized land are not purely private matters. Each individual directly bears a part of the responsibility for the good or the bad relations of the two races. The result of these meetings, in which the individual bears direct responsibility is the sharpest test of the maturity of a people in dealing with other peoples. Here we show up clearly as novices. We fluctuate too much between undisciplined fraternization and bureaucratic overbearing. The middle way is not natural to us yet: the understanding of foreign peculiarities while quietly maintaining our own superiority. Our cousin on the other side of the Channel is more cosmopolitan.

In the meantime we must openly confess that the Hottentot knows us better than we do him. Even while aware of his own weakness he never loses interest in the study of the white intruder. Taught for generations and from boyhood up to operate with trickery he only lets the white man see the results of his observations of humans in the rarest cases. We have lost a great deal in not recognizing this situation. In the critical time after the outbreak of the Warmbad unrest, think what was said about war policy around the beer bench in front of the stores in the presence of Hottentot men! Relentlessly, when patriotism had reached its height after the sixth bottle, the refrain was "What can the fellows do?", after someone had hinted that unbidden listeners were there. And they miss nothing; they comment more thoroughly on such [336] idiotic and thoughtless speeches than on any of the governor's decrees. Whoever thinks he can demand every kind of service from the Hottentot for tobacco and bad gin, ought to have at least as much information about the families of this "trash" in these critical times so that he does not select the man to spy on the leader of a band from a related family.

But we will not give any further examples here. Even without them the conviction that underestimating the Hottentots in the small matters of daily life as well as in the most important was a basic error in our relations with the natives will make headway. We have had to pay for this mistake so dearly with blood that it is the duty of every witness to point it out that it may be avoided in the future.

He who measures the Hottentot as a fighter not exclusively according to the measure of the dragoons or the paragraphs of the Geneva Convention, cannot deny him recognition in more than one point. To be sure, one does not need the eyes of a general to recognize that it was not Hendrik Witbooi who was our chief opponent in the battle with the

Hottentots but his ally, the countryside, that shoved waterless deserts, 648
pathless mountains or interminable flatlands between us and the enemy. The enemy vanishes here with his entire outfit. His provisions come from the living cattle that the children drive and the women milk. In remote districts or rocky hollows that only the native herdsman and hunter know they find water and they sleep in open bush-kraals as they usually do when they go out with family and possessions for weeks and months seeking pastures. And so the Oorlog Hottentot feels himself to be in his own element no matter how badly things are going. We had the task to transplant all at once and efficiently our entire cultural superiority into a country where it would normally take decades for the culture to conquer. In order to mobilize all the resources of modern war here it meant that, long before we could attack the enemy, we had to do battle with nature, which even today places enormous demands on the individual.

The Hottentot is our superior in this battle, not only because he can 72c
live on meat and roots, -- experience gives [337] him the edge. Our 648
army is like wild game to the Hottentot, which he hunts with assurance, as he has learned the tricks in former battles. Whereas our soldiers pay the cost of learning in blood again and again, he uses his old methods. He waits in ambush for the enemy at the water hole just as he did for the zebra at the Vlei. He fires at a passing detachment from the rocky hiding place as he did at a herd of migrating springboks. He stalks a weak patrol as an oryx antelope in the early dawn. He surrounds a supply train the way he surrounds hares when encircling them to throw the kirri at them.

And when he himself was surrounded, how did it happen that he always escaped again? During the entire war our troops tirelessly covered the battlefield in all directions with patrols, covered the entire country with a net of telegraphs and heliographs at enormous sacrifice and then overcame heretofore insuperable difficulties of time and space with wireless telegraphs. (76) That the Hottentot often surpassed us in passing 648

76. L. Schultze, Nachrichtenwesen während der Kämpfe in Deutsch-Südwestafrika ("Tägliche Rundschau," Jahrg. 1905, Nr. 511 u. 515).

information in spite of all this, reminds us most uncomfortably of that which we easily forget from pride in our cultural level: the fact that simple practice of the naked senses of a primitive race plus primitive intellectual experience, sharpened only by everyday things, can be

raised to such perfection that they can compete successfully with a numerically and intellectually far superior power, using the most modern equipment. 648

The strength of the Hottentot in comparison to his enemy, who is trained from youth to work cooperatively and according to regulations, lies in the independence of each individual. When we compare him with the German soldier, we see how many primitive abilities gained by direct contact with nature have been lost by us.

Added to this is the fact that the Hottentot warrior often is a mature man. The youth of our soldiers is very evident to him and he is aware again of a definite superiority in this area. One designation for the German soldier, which has lasted from the times of our former battles with the Hottentots, is "!gaǂkyaosa //gaũ-sexarob, i.e. "the little boy (a-xab, boy; -so, dimin.) from the foreign place (//gaũs), whose dress (the uniform coat that fits snugly across the small of the back) is fastened (!gaǂ) at the rear (kxaos)". But even though he laughs at his opponent here the way a sly old poacher does at [338] at a young game warden, he has still felt the strength of our soldiers sufficiently. He expresses his recognition in the expression "!huni!oǂm. !oǂm is a so-called "buskop". These animals are harder to handle than the usual oxen because of their lack of horns. They pull their heads out of the noose if they are yoked up in the usual way. They stick their heads through barriers that would be protected against horned animals. One is never certain about them. To the recognition of this readiness to fight, they add, without stretching the metaphor, the striking color of our blood (!huni, yellow) hair to the name.

I have not been able to find out from the Hottentots many details of their battle customs. In order to steel himself to his bloody work, the 726 man who has never killed anyone supposedly drinks the raw blood of a slaughtered animal before he goes into battle. [Picture. Hottentots' War Pipe.]

The battle reports of the troops will give the best information about 726 tactics. Signals are frequently given on a pipe that is carved from the 202 horn of a female springbok. Since this signal pipe, ǂgiǂs, is blown the same way as a dance pipe, it is also called a reed or blowing horn, xaĩ //nãǂs or "!naĩǂ //nãǂs.

It is the job of one of the sub-captains to determine whether a place or water hole which the troop is approaching is occupied by the enemy or not. He rides up spying, while his people conceal themselves [illegible]. Not until he lets out a long drawn-out whistle do they [illegible] In this way the Hottentots are supposed to have approached the water hole /Aos in the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

do not seem to have been at all clearly defined. It appears rather that in the early days of the Dutch settlement the different Hottentot tribes were situated far apart, each tribe forming certain centres round which it migrated, and claiming as its territory all the land where its members were accustomed to graze their herds or to live. But the right to this land existed only as long as no stronger community disputed it. From the earliest historical times fights for pasture lands are recorded as occurring among the Hottentots, the inevitable result being that a dispossessed tribe would have to move on to new lands. In any case the pasturing of their cattle in a country so subject to long droughts as South Africa undoubtedly occasioned continual and sometimes even extensive movements, so that anything in the nature of rigidly-defined tribal areas probably did not exist.[1]

In South-West Africa, where grass is more easily found than water, stress was laid particularly on the possession of waterholes, and little care was otherwise taken to define the boundaries between the different tribes more clearly. Different fountains or pools in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific tribes. This, Mrs. Hoernlé points out, did not mean that other people could not use the water, but that one tribe had a prior claim to it, established by habit, and had the right to expect that members of any other tribe intending to camp there for a long time would ask permission to do so. She quotes in this connection an old document in which the chief of the Rooi Natie complains that the Berseba Hottentots have taken possession of one of his waterholes. He gives them permission to stay, but states firmly that this does not mean he gives over the fountain to them. "The water is my water," he says again and again.[2]

With the coming of the Orlams from the south and the pressure of the Ovaherero advancing from the north, territorial disputes in Great Namaqualand became more frequent, and increasing emphasis was laid on the recognition of tribal boundaries. Intrusion was not readily allowed, but, on the contrary, deeply resented. If a tribe wished to move into the territory of another, application had first to be made to the chief of the resident tribe. If the two were on friendly terms, permission might be given freely; but if relations were not too good, a tribute was generally demanded as acknowledgment of the resident

[1] Cf. Sawer, *Native Races*, 258–259; Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap in de Hollandsche Tijd*, vols. I and II *passim*.

[2] "Social Organization of the Nama," 6. The document referred to is published in *Berichte der Rheinischen Mission*, 1854, p. 155.

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423 619 648 tribe's ownership and supremacy over the area. And so we see, for instance, that the Orlams when they penetrated north of the Orange River found the indigenous Nama tribes tolerating their presence only on condition that they recognized the jurisdiction of the chief in whose territory they settled, and that as an outward mark of submission they paid him an annual tribute of cattle or horses in return for the right to live and graze their herds on his lands. The effect of this restriction may easily be imagined. No sooner had the newcomers [121] settled down and become accustomed to their surroundings than they refused to pay any further tribute. In the inevitable wars that followed the Nama were no match for their better armed and more experienced adversaries. Before very many years had passed the order of things was reversed, and the Orlams were dominant, while almost all the indigenous tribes either were absorbed or retained their lands on the same terms of tribute and vassalage as they had formerly exacted.[1]

619 423 486 How jealous was the regard for boundary and territorial rights in these days may be seen from the following incident. In 1889 the //Hobesen chief Hendrik Witbooi rather went out of his way while travelling from Keetmanshoep to Gibeon, and passed with his men over a corner of the lands claimed by the Bondelswarts of Warmbad. Whereupon Willem Christian, the Bondelswart chief, wrote him a strong letter of protest. "Such circumstances," says Willem, "are likely to cause dissatisfaction"; and if the "dear captain" required anything in his area it was only right first to apply for permission to enter, and to await the reply before doing anything. This would have avoided "misunderstandings"; "for it is beyond my comprehension that one chief should enter another chief's area without notifying him and making a request."[2]

619 423 On the whole, therefore, it would seem that although every Hottentot tribe had a claim, established by long exploitation, over a certain stretch of land, other tribes might seek and obtain permission not only to pass through this territory, but even to make use of its water and pastures, on condition that the prior rights of the resident tribe were recognized and acknowledged. Permission might, of course, be refused, and sometimes was, when war would probably result if encroachment nevertheless took place. But the extensive wanderings of the different Cape Hottentot tribes in the early days of the Dutch settlement imply that here, at least, little objection was raised as a

[1] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.* (Cd. 3146), 70, 73–6; Hoernlé, op. cit., 4.
[2] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 76.

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628 in case of accidental death the relatives of the deceased would demand compensation in cattle. The murderer also had to slaughter a cow
[783] for a purification meal to which he invited his relatives and friends and those of the deceased. He himself was not allowed to eat of the meat, which was consumed by the guests, but was smeared with the blood as a sign of expiation. Von Burgsdorff (Kohler's informant) says, on the other hand, that the blood feud was exercised even when the death was accidental, and that the deed could in no way be compounded. Deliberate murder always provoked blood vengeance. The nearest male relative of the dead man had to seek out the murderer and kill him. If the murderer himself could not be got at, one of his clansmen, preferably a close relative, could be killed in his stead. If the avenger fell in the fight, his next relative had to carry on the feud; while if there were no close relative to avenge the murdered man, his clansmen would feel it an obligation to do so. The formal trial and punishment of a murderer by the tribal council is probably an institution of later days, but we have not enough information about the blood feud to determine the exact relation between these two forms of dealing with homicide.

Inter-Tribal Relations

Tribal Seniority

619 It has already been shown, in the course of our discussion, that the nomadic pastoral life of the Hottentots, conditioned by the need
621 of grass and water for their herds, compelled them to live and move in compact, often widely-separated communities. As soon as any group became so large that permanent cohesion and common movement proved impossible or even inconvenient, a swarm was of necessity thrown off, which moved to a distance in order to acquire a new pasture of sufficient extent for its use. In this way, for example, the members of a Nama tribe would become scattered over the country in smaller groups, each consisting of a clan or of some part of a clan. Such an offshoot might continue to regard itself at first as part of the parent tribe, but as it gradually increased in numbers and strength it would tend to claim independence and ultimately win acknowledgment as a separate tribe.

619 Thus, as we have seen, the seven principal tribes of the indigenous
648 Naman of South-West Africa are all traditionally descended from one line of ancestors, although in spite of this claim to a common ancestry the tribes have for a long time been independent of one

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another. But in 1836 the //Haboben were still part of the people owing obedience to the !Gami /Nun chief, while as late as 1855 the chief of the Gei //Khauan expected the //Khau /Goan to obey his orders concerning migrations, etc., although they did not always do so.[1] The Gei //Khauan are acknowledged by all the others to be the senior tribe among them in line of descent. This acknowledgment, according to Hahn, formerly took the form of a tribute sent annually to the chief of this tribe by all the other Nama chiefs. In 1856 even the Korana chief Pofadder came to do homage to the Gei //Khauan chief Oasib, acknowledging that his tribe, the "Springboks", were a branch of the Gei //Khauan. The last tribute of this kind, which consisted generally in a heifer, *buchu*, spears, copper or iron beads, and milk pails, was paid in 1863.[2]

The official records of the Cape and the accounts of the early Dutch travellers show that among the Cape Hottentots the same tendency existed for groups to branch off and arrogate to themselves the title of separate tribes. Many of the tribes, at the time when they first came into contact with the Dutch, consisted of several distinct divisions, more or less loosely connected together, though all tending to become independent in course of time. Of the local groups found by the Dutch in the immediate vicinity of Table Bay, all, whether Goringhaiqua or Korachouqua, were originally members of one tribe, of which Gogosoa was regarded as the principal chief. This whole tribe, again, seems at one time to have been dependent on the Kochoqua, from whom it subsequently broke away, as was also the case with the Chariguriqua. The Kochoqua themselves in 1652 were found divided into two distinct branches, the senior under a chief named Oedasoa, who considered himself paramount, and the other under Gonnema.[3]

In the same way, the Afrikaners (*//Aixa //Ain*), an Orlam tribe, are said to be an old branch of the present !Aman or Bethanie Hottentots (Amaqua or Chamaqua of the Cape Records), who formerly lived between the Berg and Olifants River in Cape Colony. The !Aman again are a branch of the *//Khauan* (Chauqua of the Cape Records), who lived originally in what is now the district of Worcester in the Cape. The Amraal Hottentots (*Gei //Khauan*) and the Berseba

[1] Hoernlé, "Social Organization of the Nama," 5, quoting Alexander, op. cit., i, 187, 197, and *Berichte der Rheinischen Mission*, 1858, 18.
[2] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 97.
[3] Theal, *Native Races*, 241–3; cf. Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, i, *passim*; Theal, *History of S. Africa before 1795*, ii, *passim*.

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Hottentots (*/Hei //Khauan*) are also derived from this tribe, as their names indicate.[1]

It appears from the early records that the greater number of the Cape Hottentot tribes were more or less connected with the *//Khauan*, and acknowledged this tribe as paramount over them. Its principal branch in the middle of the seventeenth century was the Chainoqua, whose chief Soesoa or Sousa visited the Dutch settlement in 1660. Of his reception there by the other Hottentots Stow says, paraphrasing the official records[2]: "Sousa was held in such awe by those of other clans that neither Oedasoa nor any of his subjects dared come to trade as long as he remained near the fort. They made way for him, and waited upon him with presents of many cattle, to show the respect they owed to the highest king. That his authority was not merely nominal was shown by the fact of his interference in a quarrel between Choro, the chief of the 'Kora-chouqua, and Gonnema, the captain of a branch of the Cochoqua. They had parted in anger, the former having cunningly taken away the wife of the latter. War was imminent between them, until Sousa, the paramount chief, interfered, and threatened to degrade the one who was in the wrong. Such an acknowledgment of his supremacy by the chiefs of the other tribes would make it seem highly probable that the one over which he ruled represented the main trunk of the Hottentot race, from which all the others have been offshoots."

The early Dutch records throw some light on the political interrelations of the Cape Hottentot tribes. The headmen or "captains" of divisions not long formed recognized the supremacy in rank of the head of the community from which they had branched off, and acknowledged him as their paramount chief, but unless he happened to be a man of stronger character than the others he exercised no real power over them. The petty chiefs, or heads of the local groups or clans, were commonly jealous of one another, and only united their strength in case of extreme danger to all, while on occasion they might even fight amongst themselves. There appear to have been constant jealousies and quarrels between them and between the tribes, with occasional raids upon each other's cattle and eloping with one another's wives. "This latter amusement," says Stow, perhaps exaggerating somewhat, but having a real foundation for his remark, "seems to have been a common occurrence among them, and thus became an endless

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 96–7, 19.
[2] Op. cit., 243–4; cf. Godée-Molsbergen, op. cit., i, 40–1.

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cause of turmoil and inter-tribal feuds."[1] Often the weaker tribes were reduced to great poverty and distress. New combinations would then be formed, and the victors of one year frequently became the vanquished of the next; but the bonds of cohesion were frail, and even a slight shock was usually sufficient to break up the alliance —an event repeatedly noted in the relations of the Hottentots with the early Dutch settlers.

The same capricious and unstable element runs through the history of the Nama tribes and their relations towards one another. "On the one hand," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "one finds a great deal of intermarriage taking place between those tribes which happen to be near one another, and a great deal of visiting between the members of families so connected is always going on. Yet, on the other hand, there has never been sufficient feeling of solidarity between the tribes, for the Nama, or for the Hottentots in general, to organize themselves against a common enemy even when the danger was exceedingly great. Always one tribe has been played off against the others by all other peoples with whom they have come in conflict. There are many instances in their history in which two tribes have made an agreement with one another for some common object, but such agreements have always come to naught. There is even an interesting document, signed by most of the Nama and Orlam chiefs, agreeing to sink all differences and unite against the common enemy, the Herero, but the agreement was never actually put into practice."[2] Even the bonds holding the clans together to form a tribe were never very strong, still less was there any possibility for the tribes to be welded together to form a nation.

Treatment of Strangers

Visitors as a rule can pass freely from one tribe to another. Such visits were common amongst the Hottentots themselves, even in the early days, especially between families connected by marriage. There is no mention of any distinctive ceremonial reception accorded to these native visitors, apart from the special rite, recorded by Mrs. Hoernlé, which serves to protect the stranger from the hostile ghosts of the place. Organized trading visits from one Hottentot tribe to another do not appear to have occurred to any extent, if at all. But, as we have seen, both Bantu peoples and Bergdama would come

[1] Op. cit., 241.
[2] Op. cit., 24. The document referred to, drawn up in 1858, is translated in the *Report on the Administration of S.W. Africa*, 1922.

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791 There is some mention also of prophets or seers, *gebo aogu*, among the Naman. These people, says Hahn,[1] "could tell to new-born children as well as to heroes their fate, and this important institution [887] was in the hands of the greatest and most respected old men of the clan." It is probable that the "old men good at prophesying" referred to by Mrs. Hoernlé in her description of the annual rain ceremony, are these *gebo aogu*, but this is not clearly indicated. Otherwise we have no information at all about the functions of these seers.

789 The wearing of various kinds of amulets, it may finally be noted, 751 is by no means uncommon. Graevenbroeck as far back as 1695 mentions that the Cape Hottentots often carried round their necks small pieces of wood about the thickness of a finger, which they believed would protect them at night from all danger when out in the open veld.[2] And Wikar noted[3] that among the Naman the magicians sold to the people all sorts of little pieces of wood to protect them against harm and disease, as well as against other dangers to men and cattle. These sticks were to be burned or rubbed on the body. He describes one type used in case of danger in war. The fortunate possessor scraped it on his foot and on his body, and then could run so fast that he could not be overtaken!

789 Even at the present time, as we have previously seen, herdsmen and warriors, as well as others, use similar pieces of wood, fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, etc., which are believed to ward off all dangers, maintain health or deliver the possessor from evil. As a rule such objects are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often they may be tied on the painful part of the body, and are then simply called "medicine". When circumstances demand it, they prepare these amulets themselves, but, observes Vedder, they have so little [439] confidence in their own art that they would rather purchase them from the OvaMbo, OvaHerero, Bergdama, and especially the Bushmen.[4]

754 The respect for the magical powers of other peoples, indicated in the case both of the amulets and of divination, was also observed ● 648 by Wikar among the Naman towards the end of the eighteenth century. He says that they feared both the Bergdama and the BeChwana as powerful wizards. "I asked them if they had already had proof of the witchcraft of the BeChwana. They replied that in earlier times their forefathers had stolen cattle from the BeChwana, but while on the way home had been bewitched, so that they became mad, and

[1] Op. cit., 24. [2] Op. cit., 367.
[3] Op. cit., 123. [4] Op. cit., 134.

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turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word *//gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as */hei /nun* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Huwe* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word *//Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard *//Gaunab* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 122.

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quas, Goringhaikonas, Great and Little Karichuriquas, Hosaas, Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heusaquas, Brigoudyns, and Hankumquas. The first eight are close to the Cape, the remotest of them being not more than fifty miles away, but the rest lie further inland. The Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas and Goringhaikonas are almost always found very near to the Cape, not more than four or five hours' journey from the Fort of Good Hope: the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, especially, are only a quarter of an hour away.

GORINGHAIKONAS.

The Goringhaikonas or Watermen[5]) are under a chief, whose native name is Demtaä, but our countrymen call him Klaas Das,[6]) because, having at one time committed some offence against the Dutch, he was taken prisoner and banished to Dassen Island. He was afterwards released owing to good behaviour and restored to his former position. They have a camp of only four or five huts, number about fifty souls with women and children, and are the poorest of all the Hottentots.

GORACHOUQUAS.

The Gorachouquas[7]) our countrymen called the Tobacco Thieves, because they once stole away all the tobacco plants

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the seal hunters to Dassen Island in 1654, and been kept there to be taught Dutch, "which he understands pretty well" (D. Oct. 12, 1654); in Sept. 1655, during the absence of Herry, he acted as interpreter for the Dutch at the Fort (D. Sept. 15, 1655). There is no record of his having been "taken prisoner and banished," as stated by Dapper. His native name is given in van Riebeeck's journal as Khaik Ana Makouka (June 8, 1658) or Khaikana Makoukoa (July 5, 1659).

7) Also referred to in the early records as Chorachouquas, Ghorachouquas, Goerachouqua, Gorachouna, etc. They are generally held to have been the ancestors of the modern Korana division of Hottentots (for a detailed and non-committal analysis of this theory see Maingard, *Bantu Studies*, vi, 106-114), and to have been named after their first chief !Kora (i.e. Chora); their tribal name as given in the records would therefore mean "men of !Kora" (*-choqua* or *khwekwa*, men. Maingard, *op cit.*, 111).

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Dull-witted, dirty and coarse as these people are, they yet seem to preserve the law of nations as inviolate amongst them as it is among the most polished nations of Europe. Apart from the fact that they have shown this in several incidents, we can take as an example the answer given by the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, who in 1659 had fallen into strife and discord with our countrymen, to the question why they were troubling us and stealing away our cattle: they replied that they were doing so for no other reason than to avenge the suffering and injustice they had experienced at our taking away and sowing their lands, as has already been described [63]).

In generosity and loyalty to those nearest them, they appear to shame the Dutch. For instance, if one of them has anything he will willingly share it with another; no matter how small it may be, they will always endeavour to share and divide it amongst themselves in a brotherly manner [64]). It is true that stealing does sometimes occur among them, owing to their consumption of the root *dacha*, which they mix with water and drink, thereupon becoming drunk and unwittingly driven to excesses. Others, hard pressed by poverty, also try to smuggle away something here and there; but if discovered they must pay for this with their lives. They are, however, unashamed, and for a small piece of bread or tobacco will expose themselves entirely to your gaze [65]).

There appears nevertheless to be also a spark of dignity among them: for when they come to our countrymen at the Fort, they put on their most greasy and foul-smelling skins, and decorate their ears and throat with red and brasscoloured beads, deeming themselves then most beautifully arrayed.

They also possess a keen sense of pride, no matter in how bad and wretched a state they live; for one village will not yield or bow to another, but would far rather offer it war instead. The victor not only plays the part of lord and master on this occasion, but invariably also conducts himself arrogantly towards his conquered enemy.

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respect renders him an object of public scorn (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 320).

[65]) Sir Thomas Herbert, writing in 1638, says of them: "I cannot commend their modesty, the women (upon receipt of anything) returning her gratitude by discovering her shame, a curtesie taught them by some ill-bred Boore, our men I hope have more civility" (*Some Yeares' Travel into Asia and Afrique,*

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another, and there is poison on the hurtling iron, and with sure aim they find their mark, and in internecine war, not sparing non-combatants of any age or sex, they mercilessly slaughter the enemy to the last man, casting at the conquered, who in vain appeal for mercy, the scornful taunt: a bad crow, a bad egg. The prize of the combat is a booty of a herd of kine or flock of sheep, or arms, and sometimes those of the conquered general. These are quickly plundered, being sought for by many hands. So they wear one another down.

By what method and what art they poison their weapons I omit to describe lest I should be found to have added fuel to a Europe already more than enough ablaze with war, to have opened up a path for the extirpation of the human race, and surrendered myself as an object of loathing to mothers and to posterity.

When about to make peace they assemble armed on their common boundary, and after agreeing upon the terms, forthwith they pierce a heifer with darts and spears upon the frontier line and leave it to be eaten of wild beasts, denouncing all sorts of curses on his head who should break the treaty, and praying that he should perish for his treachery by being transfixed like the victim, and be cast forth accursed as a prey to carrion birds and ravening animals. They adopt these vows with all due form.[19])

On the 28th of January, 1687, occurred an incident I shall now describe. There is a certain chief of our Africans, who has deserved very well of the Dutch; he lives in a district to the East distant three or four days' journey from the Cape, and long ago ingratiated himself with our Society and entrusted everything to its good faith. His native name is *Thausouwe*, but our men call him Captain Nicolaus.[20]) On the day in question he came, in response to a summons, to the Castle, accompanied by another native, his neighbour, a man of equal dignity, in order that the Governor of the Cape might hear their case and by his skill and authority compose with good will on both sides before it became too strong a quarrel that had broken out between them and was threatening to end in war. The matter was soon disposed of. Under the Governor's suasion all bitterness was banished from their breasts, their passions were allayed, there was a complete restoration of

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[19]) There appears to be no other record of such a ceremony.

[20]) This man was probably Captain Klaas, or *Dorha*, already mentioned by Ten Rhyne (see above p. 111). His "enemy" was Koopman, whose rivalry ultimately led to the downfall of Klaas. There is no record in the official journal of the incident here referred to by G.

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friendship, and as a sign of established amity they shook hands. But the one gave his left hand, the other his right. I was surprised at this, and on my seeking and enquiring into the reason for so strange an action, the native, a shrewd fellow, replied to my query boldly and promptly, saying that this bad and troublesome neighbour was left-handed, and had therefore offered his left hand which was the stronger and the more apt to mischief as a pledge of faith. In response to my further enquiries as to the name by which the Supreme Being was known among them, he immediately traced a wonderful genealogy back to the beginning and gave the name *Khourrou* or *Thikkwa*. The devil, he said, was called *Damoh*. By this Supreme God were created *Noh* the first man and *Hingnogh* his wife. This pair, the ultimate authors of his race, had taught mankind and his ancestors to marry wives and rear children, to practice polygamy, peace and concord, to hurt no one, to give to each his own, together with other similar precepts, which will be succinctly set forth below.[21]) This information he gave me, sensibly enough. The pair, on being reconciled, were sent off with gifts and much goodwill.

In the territory of one or other of them warm springs are found. Our countrymen, having to cross them unexpectedly, bridged them with planks and beams from their waggons, and these they found to be eaten into and somewhat changed in colour, either by the vapour of the bubbling and boiling water or by the acidity of these same exhalations; and a few paces from there they discovered two gushing springs of perennial cool water, just as our ancestors did at Aken.[22]) But whether they be equally wholesome to bathe in is not yet known through the idleness of our countrymen in investigating the facts of nature. There are other matters also of more moment, easy and most worthy to be known and done, which through the same carelessness are neglected and ignored. These things they despise while gaping after riches which are but incentives to crime . . . . such is the nature of our folk; they postpone public interests to private and illiberal gains.

Kanima, ostrich feather, and a woman *Hau na maos*, yellow copper. He gave them cows, whose milk they should drink, a jackal tail to wipe the perspiration off the brow, a staff with a club (Kiri), a quiver with arrows, and a bow, and a shield."

[22]) These "warm springs" are probably those now known as the Caledon Baths. The main trading route to the east passed close to them. They do not appear to have been frequented for curative purposes until the first decade of the 18th century. Cf. the journals of two visits to the "warm springs" in 1710, published in *V. R. Soc.* 5, pp. 69 ff.

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his way from the river Sena to Niemba, a journey of twenty days to the north. The inhabitants of this place proved to be men of a confident and ready temper, they put up a strenuous fight in defence of their own, and were so successful that they slew Matthew and his followers to a man.

O kind heaven, what a harvest of souls could here be made for Christ! What a field is here for the preaching of His gospel! if only private gain could be put in the second place, and all, for the greater glory of God, would watch over the common good. But, alas, for the most part they forswear their allegiance to God and country and turn to unscrupulous quest of gain; and there are some who fill two or three public positions, men whose poverty of spirit, weakness of intellect, incapacity for service, and utter absence of all virtuous endowment, would not suffice for one. Off, Shame, and hide in the woods! and teach the natives not to put too much trust in colour. The white blossoms fall, the black berries are gathered.

But the limits of a letter do not permit of my including every particular, and I fear that I have already transgressed them in this very long, and literally voluminous, epistle. But you, kind sir, asked me to write at length, and you will readily pardon my evil lust for writing, even if it has gone beyond what your judgment and consideration of our respective ages, could permit; and you will not despise these few observations, such as they are, in which I attempt to reply to your questions, and to record what seemed to me both worth telling and easy to express in the Latin tongue; nor will you refuse to smoothe my roughness with your critical file, to dress the unkempt locks of my poor prose, and to forgive the homely style which is all that exiles can attain.

To put all in a word, you must know that this land is sufficient unto itself, and needs neither commerce nor any other aid, if luxury be absent, so bountifully does the goodness of God here display itself, affording nurture without stint to the inhabitants.

In addition to this the land is girdled with a circumfluent and lordly Ocean, which from time to time casts upon her shores pearls of the colour of alum, together with amber and other offerings from its store. A narrow isthmus unites the peninsula to the mainland. This peninsula, in the year 1651,[109] the Dutch occupied under the command and auspices of the great van Riebeeck, and now hold from the natives on a just title of purchase and with the sanction of

[109] Sic. Van Riebeeck landed in Table Bay on April 7, 1652.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

000 in dies colonis, agris, fortunisque auctiorem gliscentemque, sed quo justo interveniente pretio venditores ignorant, et emptores dicere gravantur: sufficit volentibus non factam injuriam et nostrates ex tenuissimis principiis, vastioris terrae dominos factos, quam totius Bataviae ambitus complectitur: qui in cunis adhuc vagientes, multis frequentibusque latrociniis barbarorum irritati, et oblatas pacis conditiones superbè satis spretas videntes, bellum illis indicunt, et cum omnibus copiis, tam stipendiario milite quam colonis, impressionem in hostilem terram populationemque faciunt, modico saltem praesidio in arce relicto, qui captantes temporum momenta, dum barbarus nocturnis choraeis fessus, ut fere fit, primulo diliculo somnum capit, nil tale metuentem, et in utramvis aurem dormiscentem assiliunt, pars trucidatur, reliqui fuga sibi consulunt. Europaei omnia diripientes, ingentem pecudum armentorumque vim, magnis itineribus abducunt. Barbari se colligentes regredientium terga et latera premunt, sed equitatu nostro in fugam versi statuunt ad conspectum stellae, orientem solem antecedentis (hinc eos motus siderum et statas temporum vices omnimodo non ignorare colligere licet) attemperate omnibus copiis in nostrorum castra quadripartito agmine reptabundi, et in ventrem proni provolare; ex compacto assultant, sed in speculis stans miles, hoste detecto ad arma clamat; consurgunt nostri, impetumque inimicorum fortiter propellunt, quibus si mens non laeva fuisset, illaesi ad libitum Batavos non diu post cecidissent, nam tanta vis imbrium subito effusa tantaque violentia ventorum coörta, ut frigore obrigescentibus membris, et madentibus nostrorum armis, itinere fessos, sarcinis impedimentisque graves ad unum omnes deleri potuissent, sed aliter Superis visum fuit, hoc unico ictu totae Barbarorum vires accisae, illaque victoriâ debel-

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● 648 [101]) In 1672 the Dutch "bought" from the Goringhaiqua chief Schacher "the whole district of the Cape, including Table, Hout and Saldanha Bays, with all its lands, rivers and forests" for goods to the nominal value of £800 (the goods actually transferred were worth £2 16s. 5d.); and a little later a similar agreement was made with the Chainouqua chief Dhouw, who "sold"

law, and the settlement grows greater day by day in burghers, farms, and fortunes; but what the just price was that passed between them the sellers do not know, and the purchasers are averse to stating.[101]) It is sufficient that no harm was done to those who accepted the occupation without resistance, and that our countrymen, from the slenderest beginnings, have become the lords of a domain vaster than the whole circuit of Holland. For when the colony was still in its infancy, the burghers, provoked by repeated robberies on the part of the natives, and perceiving that the terms of peace they offered were rather scornfully rejected, declared war upon them. They then collected all their forces, both mercenary troops and burghers, made an invasion into the territory of the enemy and began to lay it waste, leaving only a small garrison behind in the fort. The invaders waited their time, and when the natives were wearied on one occasion with their usual dancing by night, and had fallen asleep at the first peep of dawn, they fell upon them, off their guard and sleeping soundly. Some were slaughtered, the rest sought safety in flight. The Europeans then plundered everything, and drove off by forced marches a huge quantity of sheep and oxen. The natives rallied and pressed upon the rear and flanks of the retreating host, but our cavalry routed them. They then made a plan to be carried out at the first sight of the morning star (and this is the reason why I think they cannot be regarded as totally ignorant of the motions of the stars and the fixed order of time). Dividing all their forces into four divisions they were to steal upon our camp, crawling up on their bellies. At the agreed signal they sprang up for the attack. But our pickets sighted them and gave the cry *To arms*. Our men arose, and vigorously repelled the assault of the enemy. But if they had not misjudged the situation they could a little afterwards have slain the Dutch with impunity to their heart's content, for such a flood of rain suddenly fell and so violent a wind rose that our men were numbed with the cold and their weapons were soaked with wet. If the natives had then attacked they could have slain them to a man, exhausted as they were with marching and encumbered with packs and baggage. But heaven willed otherwise. This one blow crippled the natives' strength. One victory finished

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the district of Hottentots Holland to the Dutch "in return for merchandise amounting in value to £300. The goods actually transferred were worth no more than £6 16s. 4d." (Theal, ii, 198-201). In the eyes of the Hottentots these "sales" were probably nothing more than the granting of usufruct, and the "purchase price" analogous to tribute paid for this use (Schapera, 290).

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

175 619 161 439 The well-watered and fertile grasslands of this part of the highveld provided a suitable range of pasture-grounds to the numerous cattle of the tribe which, at that time, " contained 700 or 800 Korana," a very large population to be assembled at one spot, with its large retinue of Bushman hangers-on. Their wealth in cattle gave rise to a regular trade between them and the neighbouring Bantu tribes—the Bechuana and the Leghoyas—in which skins and presumably cattle were bartered for corn, tobacco, and no doubt those household utensils and articles of ornament which had been the staple of exchange in the earlier days of their ancestors on the Orange River.

175 619 167 797 In their periodical " treks," the Links do not seem to have gone back to their first home on the Harts River, as is attested by the traditions collected at Bloemhof,[3] but they seem to have wandered for years after along the banks of the Vaal River. For it is unquestionably this selfsame tribe that the Wesleyan missionaries, Broadbent and Hodgson, encountered on their way to the Barolong chief Sifonello in the Maquassie Mountains in 1823.

After a long journey of fifteen days from Campbell, covering between 240 to 300 miles with the slow and laborious ox-wagon, long after passing the junction of the Hart and Vaal Rivers, on January 9th, 1823, the first Korana kraal, that of Chudeep, came into sight. There they were received with the usual Korana welcome, a " bamboes " full of milk, but the chief wanting to keep the missionaries among his tribe, detained his cattle. They, however, proceeded to the next kraal, under Chief Kheidebokee, where they noticed the novel scene of the dismantling of the little rush-mat huts of the kraal, in view of a rapid " trek." The whole countryside was in mortal dread of the massacring horde of Mantatees, and the news of their arrival had caused this hasty " packing up " of the dwellings on the backs of the oxen. The missionaries soon joined Sifonello and established their station at Maquassie.[4]

175 619 797 Retracing his steps from the Station on December 22nd, Hodgson visited again a series of kraals, those of *Chudeep* and *Bantze*, with its population of 200 or 300 people, and that of Chuboo, besides passing two or three smaller " villages."[5] This tour of inspection, which lasted five days, seems to have carried the conviction that the number of Korana

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[2] See Historical Texts.

[4] Broadbent, pp. 20-26. I had the pleasure in May 1932 of visiting the ruins of Maquassie station, through the kindness of Thos. S. Leask, Esqr. of Wolmaransstad.

[5] Broadbent, p. 89-91.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

in that district was large enough to warrant the establishment of a missionary station among them. This took place in the course of the next year when Rev. Edwards chose *Moor* as the scene of his activities. *Moor*, which, if cannot definitely be identified with the modern Bloemhof, could not, according to the indications given by Broadbent, have been very far from it.[6] But the times were unfavourable for missionary enterprise. After the Mantatees came the Bataung Molitsane. The Maquassie Station was again attacked and destroyed and its disappearance had, as a consequence, the relinquishing of the station at *Moor*.[7] It had not lasted a complete year. The Korana, however, soon (1826), established friendly relations with Molitsane.[8]

This Bataung chief had a remarkable personality and he seemed to have, at an early period, won the confidence of the Links Korana, and henceforth they remained his firm and constant allies, even bringing upon the tribe, through this friendship and alliance, the horrors of war. For shortly after (1829), it was the hand of the dreaded Moselekatze, the great bloodthirsty chief of the Ndebele, which was raised in vengeance against them. The details of this struggle, scattered through the depositions of various witnesses at the Bloemhof Commission, have had to be laboriously gathered and pieced together to obtain a true and complete picture.[9]

Maclabie—whose name is perpetuated in the *Machavi* of the Western Transvaal—a Barolong chief, lived in close proximity to Sifonello, on what is the present farm of Hartebeestfontein, west of Maquassie. He was then the subject of Moselekatze, paying his vassal dues in skins and karosses. He, too, had been attacked and robbed of his cattle by Molitsane, who, not content with spoiling the subject, presumed to steal the cattle of the great chief Moselekatze. Molitsane had then his principal kraal, where the Links had been in 1820, at the junction of the Vet and Vaal Rivers, and as he retired with his spoil to his huts, Moselekatze followed, after joining his impis with Maclabie's men. Hot in pursuit of the robber chief, they passed the Vaal, drove him headlong, along with the fighting force of the Links, across the northern plains of the Free

[6] Broadbent, on his return journey to England, took approximately 2 days from Maquassie Station to *Moor* and he mentions it as being close to the Vaal, pp. 122-125.

[7] R.W.M.M.S. 1824, p. 66; 1825, pp. 38-39.

[8] R.W.M.M.S. 1826, p. 123.

[9] B.C. Depositions of Maclabie, p. 262-5; Magaal p. 326-328; Johannes Hendrik Visser, p. 249; Massow, p. 291; Johannes Links, p. 292; Jan Pienaar, p. 347; Nicholas Kruger, p. 350.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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Taaibosch threatened the destruction of the station. Gert Taaibosch was then the chief of the Korana of Nieuweland where he, in company with his brother Hanto, the Wesleyan Missionary Archbell and the Barolong of Moroko, had migrated from Platberg in 1834. In 1849, he and his friend Sikonyela fell foul of Moshesh, the great Basotho chief, and Moletsane. The latter has already appeared in this story, as the friend and ally of the Links and, in fact, at the time of the attack of Taaibosch was in possession of some cattle of the Links. The victorious Taaibosch made no distinction in the property of the cattle, but took all he could get. When Hareip of Saron heard the news, he was naturally disturbed and was for immediate war, but Schmidt pursuaded him to apply for redress to Major Warden, the British resident at Bloemfontein. This he did, and obtained a letter directing the restoration of the Links cattle. Before, however, this could be used, the Links had already fallen upon the Taaibosch, who were on their way to Pniel on the Vaal River and recovered their cattle besides killing some of the men of Taaibosch, who vowed vengeance. Thanks, however, to the mediation of the missionaries, nothing serious resulted from this episode.[11]

A further loss of ten waggons during an attack by Major Warden on Molitsane at Mekwatling in September 1850 exasperated the Links, who until then had remained neutral. It drove them—Molitsane himself at a later date assigned this as a reason for their action—to rank themselves on the side of the Bataung chief at the battle of Viervoet (June 30th 1851), which ended so disastrously for Warden and his Native allies, among whom were Jan Taaibosch, Jan Bloem and Goliath. One of its consequences was a series of cattle forays by the Links under the leadership of adventurers like Van der Kolf. These events have their echo in the Berichte of the Berlin Mission, which show their disturbing effect on the Links.[*]

In the meantime, other occupants had appeared. Matlabane, who has already been mentioned, and his BaMairi did not trouble the Links to any great extent. In fact, he himself, and possibly a number of his subjects, had Korana blood in their veins, and in accordance with the custom not unknown among the Batlaping chiefs, he had married a Korana wife, the daughter of Gert Links, so that, when, in 1846, he came to his father-in-law, the permission to occupy grazing land was

[*] B. M. B. 1850, p. 191; 202-6.

[11] Bas. Rec. I. pp. 499, 414, 421; Imperial Bluebook—no Number—May 1853, p. 18; B. M. B. 1851. pp. 12, 51, 202, 220; 1852, note on pp. 3-5; pp. 103, 106.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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Korana

175 69 648 readily granted.[22] BaMairi and Links seem to have lived in peace beside each other.

But a more serious menace to the free movements of the Korana, their flocks and herds, over vast stretches of the country, and the consequent impossibility of their time-honoured, but wasteful methods of grazing, was the gradual spread of the white occupation from the "Voortrekker" centres in the east into what is now Western Transvaal. In 1849 the farm "Jakhalsfontein" beyond the Maquassie Spruit, was already occupied by J. G. Jansen van Vuuren.[23] In 1850, Jacobs was farming on the site of Bloemhof itself.[24] In 1851-2 the old Barolong chief, Maclabie, on removing from the neighbourhood of Potchefstroom to Taungs, found "Boers . . . living down all along the Vaal River on both sides and had houses."[25] H. Lambert Jacobs who knew the district well, adds "at that time a great many squatters were moving about with their cattle, also some in this direction to the Saltpan's drift and above that. A person named Barclay lived at Bloemhof and had a reed house."[26]

175 69 648 797 167 Events in the political world had a great share in inducing the Korana to seek fresh pastures. The dispersal of the London Society Mission at Mabotsa and Livingstone's station at Kolobeng, the news of which reached Saron early in 1852; the proclamation of the Sovereignty beyond the Orange River in 1848; the war between the Boers and the English and the battle of Boomplaats; and the final abandonment of the Sovereignty by Great Britain in 1854 had an unsettling effect on the mind of the Links tribe.[27] Wild rumours of the advance of Boer Commandos on Saron became current and were probably based on the official notice that "the district line was proclaimed provisionally up to the Harts River."[28] But the immediate cause of the break-up of the Saron Mission Station was a visit paid to it by President Pretorius in February 1854, with the object of inducing the Batlaping chieftains Mahura and Gasibone to meet him at the Saltpan to discuss the land question. This they refused to do. During his five days' stay, he was highly pleased with the missionaries. Before he left, he took the

[22] B. C. p. 291-3.
[23] B. C. p. 257.
[24] B. C. p. 324.
[25] B. C. p. 263, and 265.
[26] B. C. p. 323.
[27] B. M. B. 1848-1854.
[28] B. C. 325.

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opportunity of reprimanding Gert Links for his lukewarmness in supporting the Station, and brought upon himself the answer that the missionaries were no good to the Korana people. A request from the Boers that they should be allowed free access to the Saltpan to gather salt—a request which the Korana refused—must further roused their dissatisfaction and their suspicion. The President had hardly left, when rumours went round that a strong commando against them was on the march; "now that Pretorius has been here," said the Korana, "and that he has won our land, we must go." On the 1st and 2nd March, the Links forsook Saron for the Nieuweland at the foot of the Basutoland Mountains, where their ally, Molitsane, was living. The Station was at an end and Johann Schmidt spoke bitter words about the ingratitude of the Links.[89]

In the meantime Matlabane had taken such firm possession of the land that his name is perpetuated in the farm "Matlabanestad," along the north bank of the Vaal, and his power was so unquestioned even by the Boers, that one of them, Engelbrecht, in return for his services to him, as Veldcornet, was granted a farm in the district by the BaMairi chief in 1865.[90]

The Links seem to have settled down for a time in Nieuweland, but not for long. In 1858, during the disturbances consequent upon the Boer war against Gasibone, subjects of Hermanus Links seem to have wandered down the Vet River once again, for they were then residing at its junction with the Vaal.[91] Native tradition at *Bloemhof*, throws further light on this obscure period of the history by tracing their migration at that time one step further to the farm "Nooitgedacht" on the Free State side of the Vaal, at a point nearly opposite Bloemhof. It is, however, certain that in October 1864, the traveller Anderson outspanned, just below Bloemhof near "a large Korana station" . . and he received "the visit of the whole kraal. . . about 70 in all."[92] Dr. Holub, the Austrian traveller and scientist, visiting Holwater, a farm adjoining the Saltpan in 1871, records that "it was virtually under the authority of the Koranas at Mamusa" and "soon after his visit the White people took their departure and left the collection of the salt to the Koranas," and four years later, he finds "a good many Koranas" still at the Saltpan.[93]

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[89] B. M. B. 1834, pp. 162-3.
[90] B. C. 215.
[91] B. C. 289.
[92] Anderson. *Twenty-five years in a waggon*, p. 51.
[93] Holub, E. *Seven years in South Africa*, I. p. 195.

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During the absence of the Links in the Nieuweland and other parts of the Free State, the discovery of the diamond fields at Kimberley and along the banks of the Vaal River, had considerably enhanced the value of the territories which until then had been occupied by the Natives. England, the Free State and even the Transvaal Republic were all laying claim to their possession. Colonel Warren had been sent by the Imperial Government to settle boundaries between the Griqua chief Waterboer and the Free State in 1877. A Commission sat at Bloemhof in 1871, to settle the land claims between the Transvaal Republic and the Native chiefs, but had been unable to come to any decision. In October of the same year, Lieutenant Governor Keate, on the evidence gathered at Bloemhof, had made his "Award," which the Transvaal had consistently refused to recognise. The Links people had then returned to their old pasture-grounds in the "disputed territory," or, as it was sometimes called "the Keate Award," under conditions differing vastly from those under which they had left and when they applied in 1876 to Pniel for a missionary,[24] perhaps it was with the remembrance of what the Berlin Missionary Society had done in the past in maintaining the integrity of their territory. Rev. Kallenberg, who was in charge of the station at Pniel, travelled to the Saltpan and finally strongly recommended that the request be granted. Before a new missionary could come, Kallenberg looked after the Links at Saron, but Col. Lanyon evidently objected to his activities, for he had to warn him. Matters were proceeding fast. In the issue of the Kimberley paper, the *Diamond News* of the 5th November 1878, there appeared a proclamation signed by Hermanus Links and his councillors, laying claim "to certain large tracts of land in the Bloemhof district."[25] Col. Warren, who had been appointed Commissioner for the settlement of land claims, and also Col. commanding the troops in the Bloemhof district, was then on duty at Mamusa. He immediately summoned Hermanus Links, who appeared before him and repudiated the proclamation in a solemn declaration, because "these were not his words." He had not had it explained before signing it, nor did he make any claims to any lands.[26] In December of the same year, Missionary Brune arrived to take charge of the new Saron Mission.[27]

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Warren, in January 1879, directed Best, the Landdrost at Christiana, to request both Kallenberg and Brune to leave Saron. Kallenberg had

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24 Wangemann. *Süd-Afrika und seine Bewohner.* Vierter Aufsatz, p. 24.
25 Imperial Blue Book. C. 2454-79. p. 33.
26 Ibid. p. 34.
27 Wangemann. op. cit. p. 24.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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already done so, but Brune flatly refused. In the meantime Warren had had an interview with Kallenberg in Kimberley.[38] There had been some serious differences already between the two men. Warren had had to adjudicate in the matter of the Pniel mission lands two years previously and had commented on the attitude of Wuras and Kallenberg towards the Korana in no measured terms.[39] Hence probably the inevitable reaction. It was a stormy interview during which Kallenberg became excited and violent, invoking the influence of the Society at the Court of Berlin and threatening to write at once to the Secretary of State in London. Warren seems merely to have reminded him of his position, as the one responsible for the peace in a country under military occupation. Kallenberg at a later stage retreated from his position, and apologised.[40] 175

News of a serious nature now reached Warren in Kimberley. The Links had used force at the Saltpan to resist an officer of the peace sent to arrest one of their number for stock theft. Warren immediately proceeded to Christiana, where Mr. Brune and Hermanus Links arrived the next day to be examined. There Brune maintained his position that he was living under an independent Native chief and not under the British Government, but he retracted subsequently and was allowed to go on parole to the hotel, previous to going to Kimberley. Hermanus Links could assign no reason for his resistance, though at one point, he blamed Brune, but afterwards recanted. That night Col. Warren had to leave Kimberley owing to grave intelligence of signs of disturbance among the Natives, and he left the duty of disarming the Korana at the Saltpan in the hands of Major Rolleston.[40] 175 619 648

What happened after Warren's departure is told in the Report of Capt. Poole.[41] Mr. Brune is said to have broken his parole "on hearing of the Zulu disaster," and proceeded to the Saltpan. He is held responsible for the subsequent loss of life. Major Rolleston carried out his instructions on the Sunday afternoon with a mixed force of mounted police and volunteers. The Korana posted on the ridge above the Saltpan, were prepared to fight. On being called upon to lay down their arms, they took no notice, but retired into the bush. Major Rolleston, to show his peaceful intentions, rode among them unarmed, at the risk 175 648

[38] Imperial Blue Book, C. 3633-'83. Report of Colonel Warren on the Affairs of Bechuanaland, p. 5.

[39] Imperial Blue Book—No number, Report on the land question of Griqualand West—Report No. 33, p. 81 ff.

[40] Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635, already quoted.

[41] Imperial Blue Book, C. 2316-'79, p. 71. ff; See especially p. 72.

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175 648 of his life. A Korana fired into his face and missed him. His men, however, having strict orders not to fire, did not retaliate. The Korana, however, perceiving that they were caught in the rear by another body of mounted police, and on being assured that they would not be fired at, proceeded to lay down their arms, which amounted to fifty loaded guns. A search was then made through the huts, but Mr. O'Reilly, being wounded in the arm, shot a Korana. The men then started to skirmish through the bush to clear it. At this point Mr. Swart of Christiana was shot dead. All the able-bodied Korana were made prisoners, and, together with the cattle, taken to Christiana. Sufficient cattle were left at Saron for the infirm, women and children. Mr. Brune had also been arrested and conveyed by cart to Christiana and thence to Kimberley.

175 A great deal of controversy has taken place around this question.[42] Brune himself protested vigorously against the motives assigned to him in the official report published in the local press. In the version here given, which is the official English version, the part which is the direct report of Warren, has been carefully distinguished from the one which is Poole's. It will be noticed that in the first part—that is Warren's—there is no imputation of base motives to anyone. Warren was a fair, clean and honourable opponent. He blames Kallenberg or rather, he paints the interview in its true colours, but, if Kallenberg was violent, there is not a word of reproach against the man. As to Poole's report, although Warren, by including it in his own almost word for word, seems to endorse it, for he probably felt he had to support his officers, that part of the story assumes quite a different tone, and when it is read in conjunction with Brune's letter of protest, in the "*Independent*" of Kimberley, February 1879,[43] it is a matter for wonder whether all the accusations levelled in it against Brune can be substantiated. What Poole stigmatises as the breach of a man's word of honour Brune ascribes merely to his imperfect knowledge of English. He had just arrived in the country and there may have been some doubts in his mind, in spite of the fact that O'Reilly and Krause explained the position to him.[43] There is therefore no substantial reason to doubt his word. Again, Brune protests against the innuendo that he made use of the information about the Zulu disaster. Here again there is no reason to doubt him. If one may venture an opinion, it is that possibly Kallenberg's advice to Brune had been unjudicious. Brune himself had told Warren that Kallenberg

[42] Letters of Brune and O'Reilly in the Kimberley paper "the Independent" in Imperial Blue Book, C. 2116-'79, p. 72-74 and p. 74-75, C. p. Wangemann op. cit. p. 24-26.

[43] Letters already quoted in foregoing note.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

113 *Globus*, 1868 and 1870, and Beiträge zur Kunde der Hottentoten, in *Jahresbericht des Vereins für Erdkunde*, Dresden, 1868; not to forget the chapter on the Hottentots in Friedr. Müller's excellent work "Allgemeine Ethnographie."

648 It is enough meanwhile to say, that the Bushmen lead the life of a Pariah, and that they are hated and chased by all other nations of South Africa, having to suffer most, however, from the hands of their own nearest kith and kin, the Khoikhoi, whom I have, on more than one occasion, seen manifesting more charity for a dog than for a starving Bushman.

101 The Khoikhoi are generally called, as I have already said, Hottentots, a term to which I would not object, were it not for the confusion it generally brings in its train, as far as ethnological, anthropological or linguistic terminology is concerned. Sometimes they are called the *Hottentots proper* in our Colonial language. But very often, again, our Khoikhoi in the Colony, or more particularly those remnants of the tribes formerly occupying the vicinity of Cape Town, are called *Hottentots*, *Hottentots proper* or *Cape Hottentots*, while on the other hand the inhabitants of Griqualand West, of the South Kalihari, of Great Namaqualand are called by their tribal names, Griquas, Namaquas, Koras or Koranas, just as if they were not Hottentots as much as the Khoikhoi tribes of the Cape Colony. It would be as absurd for us to call only the Prussians, Germans, and apply to all the other tribes of Germany their tribal names, Bavarians, Suabians, Hessians, &c., denying to them the attribute German; or for Londoners to claim for themselves the title of Englishmen, while excluding the Northumberland and Sussex men from it.

This is my reason for protesting emphatically against the indiscriminate and superficial use of the term *Hottentot*, and therefore I have taken the liberty of taxing the patience of my readers by dwelling at some length on this subject.